

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 FEA-01 ACDA-05 AGR-05 AID-05

CEA-01 CEQ-01 CG-00 CIAE-00 CIEP-01 OFA-01 COME-00

DLOS-04 DODE-00 DOTE-00 EB-07 EPA-01 ERDA-05 FMC-01

TRSE-00 H-02 INR-07 INT-05 JUSE-00 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 NSF-01 OES-03 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 SAL-01 /119 W
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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0040

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1277

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US, PL

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: POLISH PARTICIPATION AND POLICY

REF: STATE 037591

1. POLAND'S DIPLOMATIC INTERESTS ARE FOCUSED ON THE
MAINTENANCE OF ITS POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.
UNTIL 1970, THE SOVIET UNION WAS PERCEIVED AS THE SOLE
GUARANTOR OF POLAND'S POST-WAR BOUNDARIES. THE
BRANDT-GOMULKA AGREEMENTS OF THAT YEAR AND THE HELSINKI
FINAL ACT HAVE GIVEN THE POLES A MULTILATERAL ASSURANCE
OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND THEREBY SOMEWHAT DECREASED THE DEGREE
OF DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION, AS VIEWED FROM THE
POLISH SIDE. NEVERTHELESS, PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE
REMAIN POLAND'S PRIMARY DIPLOMATIC OBJECTIVE. TO THIS
END, A CONTINUED U.S. PRESENCE IN WESTERN EUROPE IS
REGARDED AS ESSENTIAL TO FORESTALL AN EVENTUAL GERMAN
POLITICAL DOMINANCE WHICH COULD SOME
DAY LEAD TO REOPENING THE QUESTION OF POLAND'S WESTERN
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BOUNDARY, POLAND ACTIVELY SUPPORTS IMPROVED US-SOVIET

RELATIONS WHICH LEGITIMIZE ITS OWN RAPIDLY EXPANDING TIES WITH ESTERN COUNTRIES. DETENTE, WHICH THEY HAVE SUPPORTED IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL FORUM, GIVES THE POLES INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES TO PURSUE A POLICY OF RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BASED ON FOREIGN TRADE AND FOREIGN CREDITS.

2. POLAND PARTICIPATES IN ALMOST EVERY UN ACTIVITY. THE IMF AND IBRD ARE SALIENT EXCEPTIONS. POLAND IS VITALLY INTERESTED IN SCHEMES TO REDUCE ARMAMENTS. POLAND WAS A MEMBER OF THE ICC AND ICCS AND NOW HAS A CONTINGENT WITH THE MIDDLE EAST PEACEKEEPING FORCES. AS A MARITIME AND FISHING POWER, POLAND IS ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN THE LOS. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ACTIVELY SEEKS INTERNATIONAL OFFICES AND IS NOW PROPOSING A CANDIDATE FOR THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE UN'S FIRTS COMMITTEE.

3. AS THE SECOND LARGEST WARSAW PACT AND CEMA MEMBER, POLAND HAS ACHIEVED A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF INTERNAL AUTONOMY. PART OF THE PRICE IT PAYS FOR THIS AUTO-NOMY AND FOR WESTERN CONTACTS IS CLOSE ADHERENCE TO SOVIET FOREIGN-POLICY LINES. A POLISH FOREIGN POLICY COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT OF, OR OPPOSED TO, THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT A REALISTIC POSSIBILITY. WHERE POLISH VITAL INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED, AND ARE AT VARIANCE WITH SOVIET INTERESTS, THEY WILL BE EXPRESSED PRIMARILY IN CONFIDENTIAL POLISH-SOVIET EXCHANGES, AND IN EXTREME CASES, IN CLOSED WARSAW PACT AND CEMA DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, PRIVATE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY POLISH DIPLOMATS FREQUENTLY ARE AT VARIANCE WITH THE OFFICIAL LINE. AS US-POLISH RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED, THE POLES HAVE SHOWN INCREASING CONCERN ABOUT OUR VIEWS AND INTERESTS. HOWEVER THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES AND SENSITIVITIES OF THIS PART OF THE WORLD ARE SUCH THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD BE EXPECTED TO REACT SHARPLY TO ANY MAJOR POLISH FOREIGN-POLICY DEVIATION AND USE ITS OVERWHELMING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LEVERAGE TO BRING THE POLES INTO LINE. THE POLISH STRATEGY IS PUBLICLY TO EMPHASIZE SOLIDARITY WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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USSR WHILE STEADILY EXPANDING THE US-POLISH RELATIONSHIP AND POLAND'S EXTENSIVE CONTACTS WITH THE WEST IN GENERAL.

4. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT FULLY INSTRUCTS ITS DELEGATES AT MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS AND RETAINS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THEM.

5. THE POLES HAVE TOLD US CANDIDLY THAT THEY WISH TO BE FULLY BRIEFED ABOUT US VIEWS ON MAJOR MULTILATERAL ISSUES. FURTHER MORE, THEY WANT TO BE ACCOMMODATING WHEN THEY CAN. WHERE SOVIET VITAL INTERESTS ARE NOT INVOLVED, WE EXPECT THE POLES INCREASINGLY TO PAY ATTENTION TO OUR CONCERNS WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT THE POLES NOW ARE A MODERATING INFLUENCE AT "SOCIALIST" COUNTRY CAUCUSES. HOWEVER, THEIR GENUINE ENTHUSIASM FOR DETENTE AND THEIR CLEAR LACK OF INTEREST IN INTENSIFIED IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE INCLINE US TO GIVE CREDENCE TO THEIR CLAIM THAT THEY ARE A FORCE FOR MODERATION IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD. AS THE US-POLISH RELATIONSHIP GROWS IN THE YEARS AHEAD, SO WILL OUR LEVERAGE. IF A SITUATION SHOULD ARISE IN WHICH IT SHOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONSIDER THE APPLICATION OF SANCTIONS TO POLAND AS A RESULT OF ITS ACTIONS IN AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM, WE SHOULD WEIGH CAREFULLY THE VALUE TO THE U.S. OF OUR UNUSUAL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT CAN BE DAMAGED BY IMPUTING TO THE POLES MORE FREEDOM OF ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES THEN THEY IN FACT HAVE.

DAVIES

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